/18 cont./
000 under official protection or even administration. On the other
171 hand, it is well known that the Guaraní culture and its biologi-
• 18 cal substratum are profusely represented in the present mestiso population, principally in Paraguay, tending there to give rise to a hybrid Ibero-native culture sui generis, meriting careful anthropological analysis particularly because of its multiplicity of aspects, varying between quasi-tribal and rural forms, on the one hand, and urban cultures of marked civilizatory character, on the other.

178 But also those remaining groups of the ancient "Guaraní na-
184 tion" who in ethnic composition and in way of life remained Indian are far from showing cultural homogeneity in all aspects. Already by virtue of differentiations prior to the arrival of the European, Guaraní culture, because of the isolation of the different subgroups of the tribe, had only relative uniformity with regard to language, religion, mythical tradition, and other sectors of the culture. The differentiation became more marked [177] in colonial times, when for more than a century parts of the population were subjected to Jesuit protection, returning, some time after the expulsion of the missionaries, to their primitive [179] conditions of existence. Later, because of the progressive occupation of the ancient Guaraní territory by elements of Portuguese or Spanish origin engaged in economic activities chiefly extractive, but also productive, the Indians of the tribe entered into [166] situations of quite varied cultural contact. And finally, in the [179] last 130 years, the migratory movements of a series of Guaraní hordes in the direction of the Brazilian coast further increased the number of the modalities of cultural experience, even bringing some groups of the tribe into more or less frequent contacts with modern urban civilization.

179 /19/ It seems that, by virtue of the facts noted, the Guaraní of the present time constitute one of the most instructive examples for the study of the consequences of situations of contact between American aboriginal populations and cultures of Occidental type. No Amerindian tribe seems to have been subjected in these four centuries to the influence of such varied intercultural situations.

2: Schaden--212 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 Ethn Guarani Ethn

/164 cont./

772 771 The denominations yvý-maré-ẽ ("land without evil") or simply yvýy (sky /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/) are likewise heard among the Nandéva, having been recorded by me in the village of Itariri and in P. I. Francisco Horta, in southern Mato Grosso. Among Paraguayan Guaraní the name kháaévegúasú occurs.

771 772 •18 /165/ A fundamental character of the conception of Paradise in each one of the three groups into which the tribe is divided is that it is a matter of a place of safety, whose inhabitants are free, above all, from sickness and death. Yet they do not have to fear hunger, misery, and economic poverty either. But this does not necessarily correspond to the absence of work in order to obtain the means of subsistence. Thus the kíbáí of Xapecó, arriving in Paradise, expect to receive from their civilizer hero good lands for tillage, a sign that they have not yet begun to classify work as suffering. On the other hand, most of the Nandéva, whose culture exhibits phenomena of generally more profound disintegration, and who, among other things, seem to have lost their primitive notion of work without having satisfactorily replaced it by the patterns that would correspond to it in the civilized world, almost all dream of a "dolce far niente" as an essential part of paradisiacal happiness.

771 772 [956] [NR] [124] The success of the community that wants to enter the Land without Evil depends on both the spiritual endowment and conduct of the doctor-sorcerer and the fervor of his believers. If formerly the political direction of the Guaraní community was always in the hands of the priest charged with leading the believers to the Atlantic coast and from there to the Beyond, nowadays the power of the capitão or civil chief grows in the measure that they abandon the attempts to reach the Promised Land.

[128] Because of the diversity of historical situations through which the three subgroups of the tribe have passed, it seems preferable to study each one of them separately with regard to the myth of Paradise.

In Schaden--221 S-4.1 (1948-1954) 1953 Xbk4 Guarani Xbk4

/(21 cont./

income to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercialization of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact prevails.

Since Guaraní society does not give prestige to individuals according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the "indolence" which is imputed to the half-catechized Guaraní, who works irregularly, dislikes combat, does not save, does not know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the culture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the traditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened in other places, the Guaraní still have the advantage of finding in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude as gatherers. In the same way as, for example, the Terêna and Kadiwéu /Caduveus/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock farmsteads. But the change in the yerbales does not provide them with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely because it does not promote the replacement of the primitive intermediation of the tribal culture by a spirit of prevalence of the future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the change "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbitant price, including the products of the /(22)/ fields, such as batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages, of which, however, nothing is left over.

The need to face new economic demands causes more or less radical transformations in the family organization. As the communitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of

/All cont./

religious worship, is also weakened. Spending a large part of his time on farmwork or yerbamate, the man develops interests and attitudes not very favorable to the spirit of the great-family. It is common for the young fellows and married men to spend in one night the proceeds from a week of work, not infrequently forgetting to provide for the sustenance of the family group. The great-family ceases to be the unit of production and consumption, yielding its place to the elementary family, whose stable nucleus is sometimes reduced to a woman with her smaller children.

It is in the religious system that, in spite of the great differences from one subgroup to another, Guaraní culture finds the maximal expression of its fundamental unity. And it is in the religion that the defense mechanisms and the conditions of cultural resistance appear in their most manifest form.

As everything indicates, the principal mark that the Jesuit missions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left on the Guaraní religion was the emphasis assumed by the eschatological (in particular the destruction of the world in the future), bound up with the idea of redemption in the mythical Paradise. Some of the teachings transmitted in the catechisms, finding points of support in certain notions of the traditional doctrine, came to constitute centers of re-elaboration of the religion of the tribe.

In the last two centuries there have been few attempts at the systematic Christianization of the Guaraní living in Brazil, among them the continuing that has been going on for decades at the Evangelical mission of Dourados. The result is that the religious acculturation of the contemporaneous Guaraní groups originates almost exclusively through contact with the rural or urban Luso-Brazilian populations, through a reinterpretation, in magical terms, of the Christian elements. And, as they are transferred to the religious sphere properly speaking, the new practices and ideas are integrated into the traditional system thanks to an effort to reconcile the two religions on the basis of similarities and analogies. Thus, for example, the angels of the Christian belief are easily identified with the Kandyóin mythical, auxiliary deities, which the [illegible] Christian mentions.

/1955 cont./

77 spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions. Furthermore, the
18 margin of individual variability in the interpretation of the world,
1977 for from imposing a rigorously closed doctrinary body on the /1955/ Guaraní believer, incline him for ample tolerance with regard to incongruences or even contradictions. It is probable that in ancient times, when Nandéva, Mbyá, and Kayová families did not yet live together in one and the same village, the beliefs and ceremonies of each one of the subtribes constituted a more rigid and well defined whole.

[1963] Among the contemporaneous Guaraní, religious acculturation proceeds parallel to the adoption of new moral ideas, among them that of individual guilt. The Guaraní religion, one must insist on this, does not, except vaguely, recognize free will as a basis for the evaluation of human actions with regard to the fate of the soul post mortem. Good and evil are not qualities inherent in the actions of the individual, but necessary consequences of the nature of the one who performs them. Although susceptible of supernatural [1955] coercion (perhaps by way of reward or revenge), the author is not considered morally responsible for his actions.

[1968] It is in consequence of disorganization and destitution that the ceremonies and feasts prescribed by the tribal religion are little by little abandoned. For the realization of the great feasts the presence of all the members of the group is required: in most cases it is not possible to assemble everybody, because there is always someone to be found abroad, working on a hacienda or yerbal. And furthermore, if it is certain that the Guaraní religion constitutes the "nucleus of resistance" of the tribal culture, it is no less certain that the religion is the first thing rejected by the mestizos, because of the cultural discrimination stemming from that, there is no ground for a community spirit that would join together the pure and mestizo Guaraní. Were it not for their common position before the white man, the fact that they share with the Guaraní up to a certain point the situation of relative distain in which caboclos and coastal people always put them, the mestizos, not infrequently characterized as being maliciously clever and troublemakers, would soon disown their native ancestry.

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The frustration of the General in the effort to be invited as and treated on an equal footing with the inhabitants of Portuguese origin, added to the previous experience of not having succeeded in going to the Land without Evil, forces new and again the appearance of antiassimilacionist attitudes, leading to the rejection of elements of the material culture previously accepted, but above all to a revivalscence, even though ephemeral, of the religion of the ancestors. In cases where the latter already shows signs of disintegration. /Page 184 in blank; pp. 185-188 contain the bibliography, which is omitted in the translation, but is available in the foreign text./